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ELLIL, THE GOD OF NIPPUR

BY A. T. CLAY
University of Pennsylvania

In preparing the lists of names of the Murašû archives (i. e., *BE*, Vol. X) for publication it became clear to me that a distinction had to be made between ^dEN on the one hand and ^dEN-LIL or ^dNINNŪ on the other. For example, the names of the influential sons of Murašû, known as Bêl-nâdin-šum and Bêl-ḫâtin, as well as certain other names, are in every instance written with ^dEN-LIL and ^dNINNŪ, whereas there are other names, that frequently occur, which are always written with ^dEN. This of course cannot be accidental, and points to the fact that Bêl cannot be the reading for all three signs. The final solution of this important problem, as well as the determination of the fact that the name of the famous god of Nippur was never known as Bêl, but continued up to the latest times to be known as Ellil,¹ together with other results (see below), can now be offered, after the decipherment of an Aramaic indorsement published some years ago in our *BE*, Vol. IX, No. 66a.² This throws light on an unpublished inscrip-

¹^dEN-LIL, as all scholars understand, was the Sumerian name of the god. This has been read Ellil by some, in view of Ἰλλίλος of the famous passage of Damascius; cf. Sayce, *Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 261, or *KAT*, p. 354, etc., and Illil of V R, 37:21 (see below).

²The first part of the inscription was translated by Professor Hilprecht, who wrote at the time (cf. *BE*, Vol. IX, p. 24, n. 2), that "Professor Nöldeke kindly promised an article on the Aramaic dockets for *ZA*." Professor Nöldeke, as far as I know, has not as yet published a translation of them.

tion written on No. 2 of the same volume, as well as on a third of an unpublished tablet. The first reads:

שטר סאת ארקא זי
אריבי בר אנדבלתי
מן אללשוואדן

It will be noticed that my transcription contains ם at the end of line 2, and ן at the end of line 3, which are not in the text as originally published. My reproductions are based on what I have seen on the tablets.³ The first line and part of the second reads: "The document of the land rent⁴ of Eribi son of" Concerning the name that follows, Professor Hilprecht said: "The first part is perhaps indi=imdi ('support')." This equation is untenable, and the name must be read Andi-Bêlti, standing for Amti-Bêlti, "Maid of Beltis." In Peiser, *Keilschriftliche Acten-Stücke*, XIII, 10, the name ^fAmti-Bau is written; while in line 15 the variant ^fAn-di-Ba-u is found. The name in our inscription is also feminine, because of the element Amti "maid." The balance of the inscription was not deciphered by Professor Hilprecht.

Lidzbarski (*Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, pp. 502, 503), read the last line as follows: . . . פדאל מנאללש, which he regarded "unsicher." The first word is to be read פריע, and means "payment."⁵ This being true, מן "from" is naturally separated from the other characters. "Payment from" whom? The tablet records as the payer the name of the well-known son of Murašû, which has been read Bêl-nâdin-šum. But how can the characters אללשוואדן represent this name? אדן at the end shows that the last element of the name must be read iddin. If the name represents the son of Murašû, then MU-MU, which occurs in every instance, must be read šum-iddin instead of nâdin-šum. שר therefore, is to be read šum, like שוש "Šamaš." Ellil, then, must be the reading of the famous god of Nippur instead of Bêl; and the name of the influential son of Murašû is Ellil-šum-iddin instead of Bêl-nâdin-šum, as heretofore read. This identifica-

³ The text will be republished as No. 5 in the forthcoming *William Rainey Harper Memorial Volumes*.

⁴ On the meaning of סאת as "rent" and not a "measure," its original significance, cf. my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 27, note, and Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*.

⁵ It is the passive participle Qal, used as a substantive. Cf. note under indorsement No. 27, in the forthcoming *William Rainey Harper Memorial Volumes*.

tion makes it possible to restore the last word of another inscription, published here for the first time, but which is also on a document in *BE*, Vol. IX.⁶ It reads:

שטר אהושן בר
בלש(?) אב(?) לאלל[חתן]

"Document of Aḥušunu, son of Bêl- , for Ellil-[-ḥâtin]." The name of the latter, another son of Murašû, was known as Bêl-ḥâtin. I also found a third name, very faintly incised over an erasure of an unpublished cuneiform inscription (cf. No. 49, in the forthcoming *William Rainey Harper Memorial Volumes*), which can be read with the help of the other two, namely, לאללחתן "to Ellil-ḥâtin."

In the first place, this throws light upon the Aramaic indorsement written on an Assyrian tablet published by Johns (*Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, No. 250), which he reads אללחז. Only az-zi of the name is preserved in the cuneiform text, for which Johns suggests Al-la-ḥa-az-zi (cf. Vol. III, p. 472). Stephenson (*Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, p. 126), following Berger, thinks he can see traces of a ז instead of ז. Lidzbarski (*Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, p. 218) reads: אללח[ז]. There can be little doubt, in view of the identification above, that the first part of the name in the cuneiform text is to be restored Ellil. The balance of the docket suggests the name אהז, king of Israel, which the Assyrians reproduced Ja-u-ḥa-zi, showing that the full name was יהואהז (cf. *KB*, II, 21). The name on the Assyrian tablet is, therefore, to be restored Ellil-ḥa-az-zi.

The chief god of Nippur was in every period called Enlil, Ellil, or Illil. For the reading ^dEN-LIL, or ^dBE, or ^dNINNŪ = Bêl, I find no proof in the cuneiform literature.

As far as I can ascertain, a god Bêl, written ^dEN is unknown in the first dynasty of Babylon, or earlier. Even if ^dEN should occur, it will very probably be translated "lord," or it will be found to be part of a title, or is in an epithet. The god of Nippur up to this period is written ^dEN-LIL. EN, without the determinative in the proper names of the first dynasty, means "lord" (bêlu)

⁶ It is on text No. 2, concerning which Professor Hilprecht wrote: "L. and Lo.E. contain each two lines of a much effaced Aramaic inscription written with black color." If the lower edge, which is covered with spots of black color, contains an inscription, it is impossible for me to make out a single character. The text will be published as No. 1, in the *William Rainey Harper Memorial Volumes*.

(cf. Ranke, *Personal Names*).⁷ From Dr. Poebel, who is preparing a volume of texts from Nippur belonging to the same period, I learn that this holds good for the tablets that he has studied.

It will be found in examining the names of the Cassite period that a clear distinction is made between names compounded with ^dEN-LIL and EN without the determinative. In my *BE*, Vol. XV, p. 103, l. 23, EN-iqīša occurs, and in l. 14, ^dEN-LIL-itti-pi-šu, showing that the scribe made a distinction between names compounded with ^dEN-LIL and EN. Also in Vol. XV, p. 168, EN-e-ri-ış is found in l. 3, and in l. 28, ^dEN-LIL-ri-šu-u-a. The uniform writing of Bêl-idinam (written without dingir) seems conclusive evidence. In Vol. XIV, p. 22, l. 10, where it occurs, another name is written with ^dEN-LIL, namely Ellil-dajân. EN in these names may represent Marduk. Names compounded with Marduk frequently occur in these texts, and the determinative for god is always used. EN, however, in these names may mean "lord," in which case it is to be considered as is Ilu in similar names. It must be noted also that other gods, notably Sin, are frequently found without the determinative, and that Marduk may already have been called Bêl (see below).

The first reference to a god called ^dEN in a Babylonian inscription that I have found is in Nebuchadnezzar I (*CT*, IX, 4, 11), where the king "took the hand of Bêl, and Eria together with Bêl he brought to Babylon" (qât ^dBêl iṣbata ^dEria itti ^dBêl ana Babili iṣša). Unquestionably this refers to Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon. In the Annals of Nabonidus, ^dEN always refers to Marduk. Such references also in literature, like the passage in the Hymn to Marduk, published by Weissbach (*Babylonische Miscellen*, Tafel 14, l. 80), ^dBêl iṣtu ilqiti ana Esagila, apply, of course, to Marduk. In the hundreds of names occurring on the contracts published by Strassmaier from the northern cities, ^dBêl (^dEN) unquestionably does not refer to Ellil of Nippur, but to Marduk. As is the case with NIN-IB and Nusku, the other patron deities of Nippur, whose names occur very rarely in proper names outside of Nippur, names compounded with Ellil are not expected in great numbers in these tablets. It will be found that such is the case. In Nbk, 422, 6, a certain Ellil-aḫu-iddina,

⁷ Be-el-a-nu-um, translated "Bêl is god," should be considered with the name that follows in the list, as suggested by Ranke; see *ibid.*, pp. 72 f.

son of Marduk-êrba, occurs. In Nbk, 94, 6, an Ellil-aḫu-iddin, son of Bau-êrba, is found. As Bau is uncertain, I would suggest Marduk for both passages. This would give us Ellil in both references for the same name. But in this connection note should be taken of the writing of the second of the early triad, Anu, Ellil, and Ea, in an imprecation on a tablet dated in the reign of Cyrus (cf. Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, 277, 17), where the name of the god is written ^dEN-LIL.

The Murašû archives of Nippur, however, abound in names with Ellil. Upon examination it will be found that those names which have been read as containing the name of the god Bêl, as mentioned above, clearly indicate that two gods are represented instead of one. In the several hundred passages examined, I found that the names are written either with ^dEN-LIL and ^dNINŪ = Ellil or with ^dEN = Bêl. In this connection it should be remarked that in V R, 37, 21, NINŪ^s is to be read ^dEN-LIL and Il-lil. In only two passages of those examined have I found a variation; cf. Vol. X, 75, 15, U. E., and 88, 16, Lo. E. Upon careful examination of these tablets, I find that LIL was omitted by mistake in copying the names written alongside the seals. Conclusive evidence that this is the proper solution of the question concerning the name of the god, is to be found in the Aramaic endorsements of these tablets. No less than twelve inscriptions (Nos. 1, 6, 20, 29, 30, 34, 35, 40, 41, 44, 46, 49) contain names compounded with Bêl(^dEN), which in every instance is written in Aramaic בל, while three names compounded with Ellil(^dEN-LIL) are written with ללל (see above). Taking into consideration all these facts, it seems to me, we have conclusive evidence that in Babylonia the god ^dEN-LIL of Nippur was known, not as the god Bêl, but Enlil or Ellil or Illil from the earliest until the latest periods.

^sTallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 233, reads Bêl for ^dEN, ^dKUR-GAL, ^dEN-LIL, ^dAB and ^d50 (NINŪ). ^dKUR-GAL in the late period is to be read Amurru (cf. my *BE*, Vol. X, p. 8, and Vol. XIV, p. viii). That a different god is intended would follow from the fact that certain names are always written with ^dKUR-GAL, while other names are composed with ^dEN in the same tablet; for instance in Nbk, 42, 8, one of the principals in the contract is ^dKUR-GAL-ša-ma-'. The oath was taken in the name of Bêl(^dEN) and the king. The name of a witness is Ardu-Bêl(^dEN), son of Bêl(^dEN)-êṭir. Also, if ^dAB is to be regarded as a variant for ^dKUR-GAL in Nbk, 276, 6, we must note that in the inscription of Ašur-rêš-iši (*Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 17) it is a variant of ^dBE = Ellil (see above). ^dEN-LIL as well as ^d50 or NINŪ, according to what follows, are to be read Ellil. Further, although ^dKUR-GAL was identified with Bêl, it is not reasonable to assume that ^dKUR-GAL in any period was read Bêl, or Ellil. In not a single instance is there a variant reading with ^dKUR-GAL where Ellil is meant. To read such names, therefore, as Puzur-^dKUR-GAL in the Gilgamesh epic as Puzur-Bêl is a mistake.

In turning to the Assyrian inscriptions we arrive at the same conclusions. The first ruler in the Assyrian inscriptions whose name contains the element read "Bêl," is Bêl-kapkapî (cf. *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. xviii), but the name of the deity must be read Enlil or Ellil. Tallqvist as early as 1892 (cf. *ZA*, VIII, p. 276) determined that ^dBE in the Neo-Babylonian inscriptions represents the good Ea (cf. also *CT*, XVII, 32, 11, in Meissner, *Seltene assyr. Ideog.*, No. 849); but this cannot be applied to the early Assyrian inscriptions (cf. Ea(Bêl?)-kapka-pî, Ea-ku-dur-ri-ib-ni, etc., *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, pp. 243 f.). Here the god Ellil is meant. In the inscription of Ašur-rêš-iši (III R, p. 3, No. 6, 2) the second god of the triad, Anu, Ellil, and Ea, is written ^dBE. The name of King Ellil-nirâri, who ruled in the days of Kuri-Galzu šîḫru, is written with ^dEN-LIL in IV R, 44, 23, and in the *Annals of Assyrian Kings*, p. xxviii, with ^dBE. In the inscription of Tiglathpileser I (I R, 15, 51) the variant for te-ne-šit ^dBE is te-ne-šit ^dEN-LIL. In Shalmaneser II (Layard, 87, 12) the consort of ^dBE is Ninlil: Ninlil ḫi-ir-ti ^dEllil(^dBE). In the Babylonian Deluge story, as reproduced in Assyrian, Ellil is written ^dEN-LIL and ^dBE interchangeably. Not only is it to be noted that ^dBE is not to be read Ea in the early Assyrian inscriptions, but also not Bêl. We, therefore, read the name of this early Assyrian ruler, Ellil-kapkapî.⁹ In every instance known to me in the Assyrian or Babylonian inscriptions where the early triad is mentioned, the second god is written ^dEN-LIL, ^dBE, or ^dAB, which are to be read Ellil, and not Bêl.

In the Assyrian inscriptions of the early as well as in later times, Ellil occupied a unique position. Many of the rulers began their inscriptions with a reference to Ašur and Ellil, the chief gods of Assyria and Babylonia. For example, see the opening lines of Tiglathpileser I (I R, 9): "Ašur the great lord, who rules the host of the gods, who bestows the scepter and the crown, who establishes sovereignty; Ellil the lord, the king of the Annunaki, the father of the gods, the lord of lands (Ellil be-lu šar gi-mir a-nun-na-ki a-bu ilâni ^dBêl(^dEN) matâti." Even the former transliteration beginning Bêl(u)bêlu, sounds

⁹The King Bêl(^dEN)-ib-ni mentioned in the inscription of Esarhaddon (Senjirli, Rev. 17) as perhaps the founder of "the kingdom of Assyria," cannot be identified with ^dEN-LIL-ib-ni of V R, 44, col. iii, 2 (see *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. xviii), because of the present discussion.

rather peculiar. When Sargon and others called themselves šaknu ^dEN-LIL (or ^dBE), they refer unquestionably to the Nippurian deity. There must have been shrines dedicated to Ellil in Assyria, for in an oath formula (cf. Johns, *Deeds and Documents*, No. 646, Rev. 34, and No. 647, Rev. 33), Ellil (Ašurû), as well as Ištar, is identified with the city Ašur. Nevertheless, names compounded with Ellil are scarce in the Assyrian inscriptions of the later period.

The earliest reference in the Assyrian inscriptions to a god ^dEN that I have been able to find is mentioned in the Chronicle 82-7-4 (cf. *Annals of the Assyrian Kings*, p. xxxix), where a certain Tukulti-Ašur brought back Bêl (^dEN) from Assyria, and restored him to Babylon. By Bêl (^dEN), in the Assyrian inscription, is also meant Marduk, and not Ellil. In Tiglath-pileser I, col. vi, 87, the passage: bît ^dMartu bît ^dEN labiru, is usually translated "the temple of the elder Bêl." Scholars seem to think that this refers to a temple of the original Bêl of Nippur. It is quite possible, however, to render this passage in a number of ways. For example, Bît ^dBêl labiru may be in opposition to Bît ^dMartu. Also it may refer to Marduk, who secured his title Bêl one thousand years earlier. The expression may mean the old Bît Bêl, and it may even refer to Ellil, the Bêl matâti. In Tig. III (II R, 67), l. 12, the consort of Bêl (^dEN) is Šarpanitum, who is the spouse of Marduk. Cf. also Layard, 17, 15, where EN is written without the determinative. In the frequently occurring list of gods found in the historical inscriptions of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, Ašurbanipal, etc.—i. e., Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, Nergal, and Ištar—Bêl unquestionably represents Marduk. While the name of Marduk is mentioned in these inscriptions, it does not occur in the lists with Bêl. In other words, we arrive at the same conclusion for all periods in the inscriptions of Assyria as well as Babylonia, namely, that ^dEN-LIL, ^dBE (not the late period), ^dAB, and NINNŪ¹⁰ are to be read Enlil, Ellil, or Illil, and refer to the god of Nippur; while ^dEN, or EN without the determinative, is to be read Bêl, and refers to Marduk.

For years it has been recognized that Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, had absorbed the titles of other gods, notably those

¹⁰ It is to be noted that NINNŪ is also to be read Ea; cf. V R, 48c, UR-NINNŪ=A mēl-Ea. This, however, may be a mistake of the scribe for NINIM(XL); cf. Brûnnow, *Classified List*, Nos. 10038 and 10021.

of the Nippurian god Ellil. The general assumption, however, is that Marduk was called Bêl, which was the Semitic name of EN-LIL. This, according to the above, can no longer be maintained, and especially as there is no evidence to show that ^dEN-LIL was ever called Bêl, except as a title; e. g., ^dBêl mâtâti. Moreover, it would appear that the Semites originally did not worship a god by the name of Bêl, but that Bêl to them meant simply "lord," as EN in Sumerian, or ilu and DINGIR in Semitic and Sumerian respectively, meant "god." The common title of Ellil in ancient, as well as in later times, was LUGAL KURKURRA, which translated in Babylonian should be šar mâtâti. When it was written in Semitic, however, it usually took the form EN mâtâti, also written be-el mâtâti (cf. Kings, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I, p. 110). EN is frequently found with the determinative; cf. Shalmaneser II (Layard 16, l. 3, etc.). When Babylonia became the capital of the great empire established by Hammurabi, and efforts were put forth to give pre-eminence to Marduk, the patron deity of that city, above all other gods, the titles of the great Ellil were transferred to him. Hammurabi, in the opening words of his Code, explains the transfer in the words: "When the lofty Anu, and Ellil, lord of the heaven and earth, who fixes the destiny of the land, had committed the rule of all mankind to Marduk, the chief son of Ea, etc." This, no doubt, appeared reasonable to those living in Babylon, inasmuch as the country of the South, over which Ellil had been the dominant deity, had been held for a long time by Elam. When, therefore, Babylon, by the help of Marduk, had triumphed, and had delivered the kingdoms of Ellil (ba-u-la-ti ^dEN-LIL) from their bondage, the title belonged to the victor. The transference of this title is clearly stated also in the inscription of Samsuiluna, the son of Hammurabi, who says: "When Ellil, the king of heaven and earth, looked joyfully upon Marduk the first-born son of Ea," and bestowed upon him the lordship of the four regions, and named him among the Annunaki with an honored name, Babylon, his city like a . . . established," etc. In this connection note also the interesting passage in the VII Creation Tablet, which reads: ^dEN mâtâti šum ittabi abu Ellil, "The father Ellil hath called his name

¹¹ The Syrian writer Damascius, in commenting on the Babylonian story of the creation, says: "And to Aos (Ea) and Dauke (Damkina) was born a son Belos, who, they say, is the fabricator of the world. By "Belos" the writer meant Marduk.

Bêl matâti."¹² In this way the Babylonians themselves explained how the title Bêl was transferred to Marduk. In order also that there could be no question as to his pre-eminence, Marduk was quite commonly called "the Ellil of the gods," cf. Marduk bêlu rabû ^dEN-LIL ilâni, "Marduk the great lord, the Ellil¹³ of the gods."¹⁴ From these considerations it seems quite probable that the name Bêl was originally only a title, meaning "Lord," and later was used generally as an epithet or name of Marduk, as the Hebrews used the word Adonai. These conclusions offer us a medium for distinguishing in our transliterations between gods hitherto confused. In addition to the names quoted, which must be read differently, might be added the so-called Itti-Bêl, father of Sargon, which must be read Itti-Ellil, or rather Da-ti-Ellil (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Inscr. de Sumer et d'Akkad.*, p. 232), Kadašman-Ellil, Kudur-Ellil, Ellil-kuduri-ušur, etc., the names of the well-known walls of Babylon, Imgur-Ellil, and Nimitti-Ellil,¹⁵ as well as hundreds of names of private individuals.

The origin of אֱלִילִים, the word translated "idols" in the Old Testament, the etymology of which scholars have considered uncertain, is probably to be found in the name of the Nippurian deity Ellil.¹⁶ In Isaiah the term has the general meaning "idols," which were made of silver, gold, and probably of other materials. The idols of Egypt and other kingdoms were spoken of as the 'elilim, or as the Psalmist says: "For all the gods of the people are 'elilim, but Yahweh made the heavens" (96: 5; cf. also Hab. 2:18).

In Leviticus a distinction is made as regards the different kinds of idols. Moses, in chap. 19, vs. 4, was required to command the people: "Turn ye not unto אֱלִילִים, nor make for yourselves אֱלֹהֵי מִסֵּכָה (molten gods)." In Lev. 26:1 the command is: "Make not for yourselves אֱלִילִים, and a פֶּסֶל, or a מִצֵּבָה shall ye

¹² It is to be observed that other gods also received this title; for example, NIN-IB (II R, 57, 21) is called ^dEN KUR-KUR. In the inscription of Shalmaneser II (Layard 87, 2), Ellil, the father of the gods, the creator, is preceded by Anu, the ^dEN matâti.

¹³ Sin is called EN ilâni, I R, 68, I, 28; be-li ilâni, I R, 68, ii, 3.

¹⁴ Cf. also Esarhaddon, I R, 49, 19, Nebuchadnezzar (Abel and Winckler), col. i, 36; also p. 33, l. 10; 54, ii, 44; 55, iv, 8; 56, vii, 24; Nabonidus, V R, 64, l. 23; *Tablets of Creation*, Nos. 91139, 35506, etc.

¹⁵ Cf. I R, p. 65, l. 42; p. 52, l. 3, etc.

¹⁶ Mr. Dembitz, one of my pupils, suggested that the אֱלִל of the Aramaic indorsement was the Hebrew אֱלִיל, meaning "god," usually translated "idol." But exactly the reverse is true.

not raise up for yourselves, and an אֱלִיל מִשְׁכִּית shall ye not place in your land to bow to it, for I am the Lord your god." These passages enable us to conjecture that 'elilim were probably terra-cotta images, similar to the household gods of the Babylonians. This being true, in the former passage images made of clay and metal are referred to. In the latter passage are mentioned: the terra-cotta gods; the pesel which was an idol, hewn into shape out of wood, stone, or metal; the maššebah, which is understood to be a sacred pillar; and the eben maskith, perhaps sculptured stones.

This identification also may throw light upon the place-name אֱלִילִּמַלְכָּ, mentioned in Joshua (19:26), which may be equivalent to Ellil-malik. In this connection Professor Jastrow has called my attention to the name of the deity of the Sepharvites עֲנַמְלִיָּה (II Kings 17:31), which has been suggested by Schrader some years ago to be equivalent to the Assyrian Anu-malik (rather Anum-malik); cf. Brown, *Hebrew Lexicon*, p. 777b. Professor Montgomery has also called my attention to another word for comparison, the etymology of which is also in doubt, namely הִילִּיל (Isa. 14:12), the epithet of the king or genius of Babylon, usually translated "shining one," "day star," or "Lucifer."

If the identification of 'elil with the Babylonian Ellil is correct, and if the 'elilim were terra-cotta images, we are able to see among the figurines from Nippur some of the original Ellils. Cf. my *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 103 and 194; also *BE*, Vol. IX, Pl. XII, Nos. 23 and 24. Illustration No. 25, of the last-mentioned volume Professor Hilprecht regards also as a Bêl (i. e., Ellil) (cf. also *Explorations in Bible Lands*, p. 528, n. 5). The symbol, however, held in the hand of the deity is most likely that of the god NIN-IB (cf. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar*). This being true, the relief on the same page, i. e. 528, cannot represent "Bêltis leading a worshiper," but either NIN-IB or his spouse. It is not impossible that the relief goes back to a time when the deity was regarded as feminine, or perhaps masculine and feminine. In a letter written by Adad-šum-ušur (cf. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, IV, No. 358, obv. 3) the gods mentioned in the opening lines are: Ašur, Ninlil, Sin, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Šarpanitum, Nabû, Tašmêtum, Ištar ša Arbailu, NIN-IB, NIN-IB, Nergal, La-az, ilâni rabûti, etc. With the exception of Sin,

Šamaš, and Adad, the other male deities have consorts. Are we to understand that the spouse of NIN-IB bore the same name, or is it to be considered dittography on the part of the scribe? If it represents his consort, then the terra-cottas become especially interesting, as the deity is beardless.¹⁷ There are other figures of deities from Nippur, besides the ones quoted, having the same symbol, but with a beard.

¹⁷ Cf. my article on NIN-IB in the forthcoming *Proc. A. O. S.*